

Message Text

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CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2759

SECDEF WASHDC

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USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 5586

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: NOVEMBER 20 NAC DISCUSSION OF ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

REF: STATE 228492 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: DUE TO EXTENSIVE UNANNOUNCED AMENDMENTS PROPOSED BY FRG AND FLANK COUNTRIES' UNANIMOUS INSISTENCE ON MAINTAINING REFERENCE TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES FOR THE FLANKS, COUNCIL WAS UNABLE TO APPROVE ALLIED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL DRAFTED BY AD HOC GROUP. COUNCIL WILL MEET TOMORROW MORNING, NOVEMBER 21, IN EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON PROPOSED AMENDMENTS, SO THAT ALLIED NEGOTIATORS CAN TABLE FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL IN MBFR PLENARY ON NOVEMBER 22. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF DRAFT TEXT AND REQUEST GUIDANCE FOR NOVEMBER 21 NAC MEETING ON SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS. SEE SEPTTEL FOR TEXT AS IT EMERGED FROM NACE

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DISCUSSION. ALL CHANGES ARE ADREF. USDEL MBFR MAY WISH TO COMMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. IN GENERAL DISCUSSION PRECEDING PARAGRAPH BY PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF AD HOC GROUP DRAFT FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, LUNS NOTED

IMPORTANCE OF REACHING AGREEMENT IN THE COUNCIL IN TIME FOR
TABLING OF TEXT IN VIENNA ON NOVEMBER 22. RUMSFELD STRONGLY
ENDORSEED THE NEED FOR A TIMELY REPLY TO THE SOVIET NOVEMBER 8
PROPOSAL AND SAID THAT U.S. COULD ACCEPT DRAFT TEXT WITHOUT
CHANGE. KRAPF(FRG) SAID THAT BONN FOUND AHG DRAFT A
SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL, BUT HAD CERTAIN
MODIFICATIONS TO RECOMMEND AND DID NOT FEEL IT WOULD BE A
SETBACK IF THE COUNCIL WERE UNABLE TO REACH IMMEDIATE AGREE-
MENT. MENZIES (CANADA) SAID HE WAS WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS AND
COULD NOT GIVE FINAL APPROVAL TO DRAFT UNTIL NOVEMBER 21.
CATALANO (ITALY) COULD ACCEPT TEXT, WITH UK'S PROPOSED REVISION TO
PARA 5 (SEE BELOW).

2. FOLLOWING THESE GENERAL STATEMENTS, COUNCIL CONDUCTED PARAGRAPH-
BY PARAGRAPH REVIEW OF AHG TEXT. EXCEPT FOR TURKISH PROPOSAL TO PLACE
PARA 8 UNDER PARA 9, THERE WERE NO OTHER PROPOSALS FOR RE-ORDERING
SEQUENCE OF PARAGRAPHS. REMAINDER OF THIS REPORT IS KEYED
TO TEXT RESULTING FROM NAC DISCUSSION.

3. INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES. FRG PROPOSED A TWO-SENTENCE INTRO-
DUCTION, WHICH WOULD REFER TO JUNE 28 DECISION "TO HOLD NEGOTI-
ATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTIONS OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCI-
ATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE," AND WOULD STATE THAT THE
FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL DESCRIBES THE ELEMENTS OF THE FIRST PHASE
OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. KRAPF EXPLAINED THAT BONN WANTED
TO MAKE REFERENCE AT THE OUTSET TO "ASSOCIATED MEASURES"
AND TO THE FACT THAT THE PROPOSAL DESCRIBED ONLY THE FIRST
PHASE. SEVERAL PERMREPS OPPOSED IT AND KRAPF DID NOT PRESS IT.

4. IDFGQA KRAPF PROPOSED THAT THE PHRASE "THE REDUCTION
AREA" BE CHANGED HERE AND THROUGHOUT THE REMAINDER OF THE
TEXT TO READ "THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS," IN ORDER TO AVOID
CREATING THE IMPRESSION OF A SPECIAL ZONE. COUNCIL ACCEPTED
THIS RECOMMENDATION THROUGHOUT TEXT.

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5. PARA 3. FIRST SENTENCE: KRAPF PROPOSED DROPPING THE
WORD "ULTIMATE." THIRD SENTENCE: KRAPF PROPOSED CHANGING
"THIS CEILING MIGHT BE SET..." TO "THIS CEILING SHOULD BE SET..."

6. PARA 5. UK PROPOSED LANGUAGE FOR RATIONALE OF SECTION 5
(USNATO 5565)
AND RUMSFELD MENTIONED U.S. OBJECTIONS PER REFTTEL. BELGIAN
AND FRG REPS AGREED WITH UK OBJECTIONS TO FORMULATIONS IN
SECOND SENTENCE OF AHG DRAFT, WHICH APPEARED TO ASSIGN
SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE U.S. AND USSR FOR "PRESERVING
PEACE" IN EUROPE. RUMSFELD SUGGESTED ADDING THE
FIRST SENTENCE FROM THE UK PROPOSAL, SO THAT THE PARAGRAPH
WOULD READ AS FOLLOWS: "THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD
PROVIDE FOR REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET AND U.S. GROUND FORCES IN
THE AREA, THESE ARE THE LARGEST FORCES ON EACH SIDE

FROM OUTSIDE THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS." COMMENT: SECOND SENTENCE OF AHG DRAFT ALSO STRUCK MANY, PARTICULARLY DE STAERCCKE, US AS OVEREMPHASIZING SPECIAL ROLE OF U.S. AND USSR IN EUROPE, BUT USDEL MBFR MAY WISH TO PROVIDE FURTHER BACKGROUND ON THIS SENTENCE. REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER FORMULATION SUGGESTED ABOVE, WHICH WAS WELL RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL, WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE. END COMMENT.

7. PARA 6. THIRD SENTENCE OF AHG DRAFT ("THESE FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO THE USSR AND WOULD NOT BE REPLACED."); SPIERENBERY (NETHERLANDS) SUGGESTED DROPPING THIS SENTENCE, SINCE IT PREJUDGED THE QUESTION OF THE DISPOSITION OF WITHDRAWN SOVIET FORCES, ON WHICH THERE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW AMONG ALLIES. FLANK REPS AGREED WITH THIS SUGGESTION, AND COUNCIL DROPPED SENTENCE FROM TEXT.

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8. PARA 7. FRG OBJECTED TO PHRASE "APPROXIMATELY EQUAL PROPORTION," SINCE SOVIETS COULD USE THIS TO ASK FOR SECOND PHASE REDUCTION ON BASIS OF EQUAL PROPORTION. THIS WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE, SINCE THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO ASK FOR UNEQUAL REDUCTION IN SECOND PHASE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE A COMMON CEILING IN GROUNDMANPOWER. COUNCIL AGREED TO DROP THIS PHRASE. TO PARALLEL AMENDMENT TO PARA 6, COUNCIL ALSO AGREED TO DROP FINAL SENTENCE IN FIRST PARAGRAPH OF AHG DRAFT ("THESE FORCES WOULD BE WITHDRAWN TO THE UNITED STATES AND WOULD NOT BE REPLACED.") FINAL SENTENCE; UK AND DUTCH PERM REPS OBJECTED

TO FINAL CLAUSE, "AS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE IN BOTH CASES". THEY FOUND THAT PHRASING PREJUDGED MODALITIES OF AGREEMENT ON EQUIPMENT AND THAT PHRASE "IN BOTH CASES" WAS AMBIGUOUS. COUNCIL AGREED TO DROP THIS CLAUSE, BUT RUMSFELD REPEATED THAT ALL THESE AMENDMENTS WERE AD REFERENDUM. COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER FOREGOING CHANGES IN PARA 7 ARE ACCEPTABLE. END COMMENT.

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9. PARAS 8 AND 9. TURKISH REP MADE PROPOSAL FOR PLACING PARA 8 AT THE END OF PARA 9, AS A NEW SUB-PARA D (USNATO 5565). GREECE AND NORWAY STRONGLY SUPPORTED ERLAP'S PROPOSAL AND HIS ARGUMENT THAT TREATING THE FLANKS QUESTION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO SPECIFIC MEASURES WOULD LEAVE FLANK SECURITY CONCERNS IN LIMBO WHILE MENTIONING THEM UNDER "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" WOULD RELATE THEM PROSPECTIVELY TO SPECIFIC STEPS. RUMSFELD DREW UOPN GUIDANCE REFTEL AND REPEATED DISCLAIMER GIVEN IN PARA 12 OF VIENNA 9524. LUNS, SUPPORTED BY BELGIUM AND NETHERLANDS, ASKED FLANK REPS TO SEEK NEW INSTRCUTIONS, SINCE U.S. OPPOSITION WAS FIRM. ERLAP SAID HE WOULD DO SO, BUT WOULD PREFER TO PLACE PARA 8--WHICH COUNCIL REVISED PRINCIPALLY BY ADDING INTRODUCTORY PHRASE "IN ANY AGREEMENT"-- AS FIRST PARAGRAPH UNDER HEADING "ASSOCIATED MEASURES." OTHER FLANK REPS SUPPORTED THIS SUGGESTION. COMMENT: REACHING AGREEMENT WITH THE FLANK STATES ON THESE TWO PARAGRAPHS WILL PROBABLY BE THE PRINCIPAL TASK BEFORE THE COUNCIL ON NOVEMBER 21.

TURKISH DEL IS HIGHLY SKEPTICAL THAT ANKARA WOULD ACCEPT ANYTHING LESS THAN ERLAP'S FINAL PROPOSAL TO LOCATE REVISED PARA 8 AS FIRST SENTENCE OF PARA 9, WHICH, IN TURK VIEW, SHOULD MEET U.S. CONCERNS SINCE IT DOES NOT CALL FOR ANY SPECIFIC MEASURES FOR THE FLANKS, AS WOULD A NEW SUBPARA D. IF ERLAP IS UNABLE TO ACCEPT PARA 8 AT NOVEMBER 21 NAC, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE FLEXIBILITY TO ACCEPT HIS PROPOSAL FOR PUTTING IT AT THE BEGINNING OF PARA 9. IN FACT, THIS MAY EVEN BE ADVANTAGEOUS SINCE TURKS COULD USE SEPARATE PARA 8 IN THE FUTURE TO ASK FOR SPECIAL PROVISIONS FOR THE FLANKS IN VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT AND NOT JUST IN CONNECTION WITH ASSOCIATED MEASURES. END COMMENT.

10. PARA 9, SECOND SENTENCE. FRG SUGGESTED THE FOLLOWING REVISION: "SUCH MEASURES, WHICH WOULD FORM AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS AND OF FUTURE AGREEMENTS WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH SIDES." SUBPARA B: CLAUSE ADDED PER EARLIER NAC GUIDANCE (USNATO 5533). DUTCH FOOTNOTE. COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE CAN ACCEPT THESE AMENDMENTS. END COMMENT.

11. PARA 10. FRG PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE FIRST AND FINAL SENTENCES OF THIS PARAGRAPH TO UNDERLINE VIEW THAT THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT SHOULD BE "THE FIRST STEP" TOWARDS A COMMON CEILING AND THAT THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD ADDRESS "THE AGGREGATES
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OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT GOUND FORCES REMAINING AFTER FIRST
PHASE REDUCTIONS." COMMENT: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON WHETHER WE
CAN ACCEPT THIS FRG AMENDMENT. END COMMENT.
RUMSFELD

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